1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

After Magalhães' death the Krahô' constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;[9] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50', and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the Krahô', attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahô' sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahô' on the Tocantins and took down a word list.[10] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahô' had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[11] Castelnau sets the limits of Krahô' territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40'. Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahô' settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahô' farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[12] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Savánte-Seréntе, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahô' permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[13] In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[14] The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahô' owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahô' chiefs.

In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tę'm). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahô' village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

[9] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.
[10] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."
[11] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 210.
[12] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:384.
[13] Tuggia, 122.
[14] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

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JEALOUSY

152 836 626 Among young men any expression of jealousy or resentment over a slight would be considered mean and ridiculous. On the other hand, girls take little pains to suppress corresponding sentiments. In a fit of jealousy Kentapí told her lover that she would wait till he was gone, then lure her rival, Muruwá, out into the steppe, club her to death, and lead him to inspect the skeletal remains on his return. Fortunately, as elsewhere, big talk and action do not always coincide in Ponto. As a matter of fact, the two girls could not carry their hostility to extremes because the omnipotent social structure is bound to unite them again and again in defiance of personal sentiments. Such a thing as having a woman declare that she would not attend the afternoon dance lest she meet her rival is wholly inconceivable for a Timbira. Accordingly, soon after these two were seen dancing and singing together in one line.

SEX IDEAL

832 836 784 [164] The Rąmkõ'kamekra ideal for both sexes involves a stature that is not too short; light skin color; long and ample hair; a well-nourished body; small eyes; and a nimble gait. Males are supposed, in addition, to wear large earplugs. A lazybones (čukaká) who plays truant at log races or hunting and obviously evades work will have no luck in getting a wanton, let alone a wife. There were two or three such čukaká in the tribe—one of them probably afflicted with hookworm acquired on some begging trip. The others declared that they had somehow transgressed the food taboos imposed on young people of both sexes relating to the flesh of the little anteater, armadillo, porcupine, paca, capybara, sucurijú and jacaré, and to ostrich eggs, electric eels, and rays—prohibitions removed only after marriage.

832 581 Good log racers arouse the girls' pleasure and admiration, as do good singers and dancers. Yet in the choice of a husband a competent hunter looms as more attractive, lack of skill in the chase being a decided obstacle. Pądnhl had graduated from the initiation ceremonies, was twenty to twenty-two years old, had been long engaged to a girl, and according to the list he recited to me had killed many kinds of game; but he explained that this was far from adequate and that he would have to give many further proofs before marriage. However, there is no formal test; the general impression that a young man is able to supply a wife and family with meat suffices.

The only form of love magic observed is the secret removal of hair from the temples of the beloved person, whereby it is believed possible to assure a permanent union.

PREREQUISITES TO MARRIAGE

582 [131] 881 In former times no young man was permitted to marry before completing the cycle of initiation ceremonies, thereby attaining the status of a warrior, pẽp. Premature sexual intercourse, it is said, impairs one's prowess as a log racer. As described (p. 200), the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony of the last initiation phase involves the leading of engaged youths by their prospective mothers-in-law. However, the young warriors were by no means obliged to marry at once, being allowed to remain single as long as they pleased; since the difference within a class may amount to as much as ten years, some members had not yet attained the necessary age.

For girls it was essential to have obtained the corded girdle (me'pré) before marriage and to be virgins; and marriage with a virgin was considered indissoluble. This girdle was bestowed after at least one season's service as the associate of some men's organization. The two vụ'tẹ' and the warrior girls who graduate from

chief Ropkꝛ́, and opposite him chief Kukrãẽ́ꝛ́, who calls Ropkꝛ́ his uncle, was delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkꝛ́'s lap he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrãẽ́ꝛ́ rose and went to the plaza to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal uncle who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewise took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attention to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the child of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always comes forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. The mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been described (p. 102).

Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buried behind his mother's home, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahṍ in 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind the house; the Rąmkṍkamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infant.

The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and the corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[200] At present, at least among the Rąmkṍkamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extended on its back.

If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an all-night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many related persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared for the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for the dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at both ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carry to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the village. A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None of the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Põrekamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; and the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assumes, but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[201] The opening of the grave is covered with transversely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth. Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on this mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roaming domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carrying basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the like.

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated in the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty spot where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in front of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which is paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

Like the Apinayé,[202] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who dies "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, will return to his mother's home in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite like

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbras, 173.
[201] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 26-28.
[202] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 152.